THREE ESSAYS, MORAL AND POLITICAL:

Never before publiſhed.

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ESSAY

ESSAY I.

Of NATIONAL CHARACTERS.

THE Vulgar are very apt to carry all *national Characters* to Extremes; and having once eſtabliſh'd it as a Principle, that any People are knaviſh, or cowardly, or ignorant, they will admit of no Exception, but comprehend every Individual under the ſame Character. Men of Senſe condemn theſe undiſtinguiſh'd Judgments; tho' at the ſame Time, they allow, that each Nation has a peculiar Set of Manners, and that ſome particular Qualities are more frequently to be met with among one People than among their Neighbours. The common People in *Swiſſerland* have ſurely more Probity than thoſe of the ſame Rank in *Ireland*; and every prudent Man will, from that Circumſtance alone, make a Difference in the Truſt he repoſes in them. We have Reaſon to expect greater Wit

and Gaiety in a *Frenchman* than in a *Spaniard*; tho' *Cervantes* was born in *Spain*. An *Engliſhman* will naturally be ſuppoſed to have more Knowledge than a *Dane*; tho' *Tycho Brahe* was a Native of *Denmark*. Different Reaſons are aſſign'd for theſe *national Characters*; while ſome account for them from *moral* and others from *phyſical* Cauſes. By *moral* Cauſes, I mean all Circumſtances, which are fitted to work on the Mind as Motives or Reaſons, and which render a peculiar Set of Manners habitual to us. Of this Kind are, the Nature of the Government, the Revolutions of public Affairs, the Plenty or Penury in which the People live, the Situation of the Nation with Regard to its Neighbours, and ſuch like Circumſtances. By *phyſical* Cauſes, I here mean thoſe Qualities of the Air and Climate, which are ſuppoſed to work inſenſibly on the Temper, by altering the Tone and Habit of the Body, and giving a particular Complexion, which, tho' Reflection and Reaſon may ſometimes overcome, yet will it prevail among the Generality of Mankind, and have an Influence on their Manners.

THAT the Character of a Nation will very much depend on *moral* Cauſes muſt be evident to

o the moſt ſuperficial Obſerver; ſince a Nation is nothing but a Collection of Individuals, and the Manners of Individuals are frequently determined by theſe Cauſes. As Poverty and hard Labour debaſe the Minds of the common People, and render them unfit for any Science and ingenious Profeſſion; ſo where any Government becomes very oppreſſive to all its Subjects, it muſt have a proportional Effect on their Temper and Genius, and muſt baniſh all the liberal Arts from amongſt them. Inſtances of this Nature are very frequent in the World.

The ſame Principle of moral Cauſes fixes the Character of different Profeſſions, and alters even that Diſpoſition, which the particular Members receive from the Hand of Nature. A Soldier and a Prieſt are different Characters, in all Nations, and all Ages; and this Difference is founded on Circumſtances, whoſe Operation is eternal and unalterable.

The Uncertainty of their Life makes Soldiers laviſh and generous as well as brave: Their Idleneſs as well as the large Societies, which they form in Camps or Garriſons, incline them to Pleaſure and Gallantry: By their frequent

Change of Company, they acquire good Breeding and an Openneſs of Behaviour: Being employ'd only againſt a public and an open Enemy, they become candid, honeſt, and undeſigning: And as they uſe more the Labour of the Body than that of the Mind, they are commonly thoughtleſs and ignorant †.

'Tis a trite, but not altogether a falſe Maxim, that *Prieſts of all Religions are the ſame*; and tho' the Character of the Profeſſion will not, in every Inſtance, prevail over the perſonal Character, yet it is ſure always to predominate with the greater Number. For as Chymiſts obſerve, that Spirits, when rais'd to a certain Height, are all the ſame, from whatever Materials they be extracted; ſo theſe Men, being elevated above Hu-

† 'Tis a Saying of *Minander*, Κομψὸς στρατιώτης, οὐδ' ἂν εἰ πλάττει θεὸς Οὐθεὶς γένοιτ' ἄν. *Men. apud. Stobæum. 'Tis not in the Power even of God to make a polite Soldier.* The contrary Obſervation with regard to the Manners of Soldiers takes Place in our Days. This ſeems to me a Preſumption, that the Ancients ow'd all their Refinement and Civility to Books and Study; for which, indeed, a Soldier's Life is not ſo well qualified. Company and the World is their Sphere. And if there be any Politeneſs to be learned from Company, they will certainly have the moſt conſiderable Share of it.

manity,

manity, acquire a uniform Character, which is entirely their own, and which, in my Opinion, is, generally ſpeaking, not the moſt amiable, that is to be met with in human Society. It is, in moſt Points, oppoſite to that of a Soldier; as is the Way of Life, from which it is deriv'd †.

As

† Tho' all Mankind have a ſtrong Propenſity to Religion at certain Times and in certain Diſpoſitions; yet are there few or none, who have it to that Degree, and with that Conſtancy, which is requiſite to ſupport the Character of this Profeſſion. It muſt, therefore, happen, that Clergymen, being drawn from the common Maſs of Mankind, as People are to other Employments, by the Views of Profit, the greateſt Part, tho' no Atheiſts or Freethinkers, will find it neceſſary, on particular Occaſions, to feign more Devotion than they are, at that Time, poſſeſt of, and to maintain the Appearance of Fervour and Seriouſneſs, even when jaded with the Exerciſes of their Religion, or when they have their Minds engag'd in the common Occupations of Life. They muſt not, like the reſt of the World, give Scope to their natural Movements and Sentiments: They muſt ſet a Guard over their Looks and Words and Actions: And order in to ſupport the Veneration paid them by the ignorant Vulgar, they muſt not only keep a remarkable Reſerve, but muſt promote the Spirit of Superſtition, by a continu'd Grimace and Hypocriſy. This Diſſimulation often deſtroys the Candour and Ingenuity of their

As to *phyſical* Cauſes, I am inclin'd to doubt altogether of their Operation in this particular; nor

Tempers, and makes an irreparable Breach in their Characters.

If by Chance any of them be poſſeſt of a Temper more ſuſceptible of Devotion than uſual, ſo that he has but little Occaſion for Hypocriſy to ſupport the Character of his Profeſſion; 'tis ſo natural for him to over-rate this Advantage, and to think it atones for every Violation of Morality, that frequently he is not more virtuous than the Hypocrite. And tho' few dare openly avow thoſe exploded Opinions, *that every thing is lawful to the Saints, and that they alone have a Property in their Goods*; yet may we obſerve, that theſe Principles lurk in every Boſom, and repreſent a Zeal for religious Obſervances as ſo great a Merit, that it may compenſate for many Vices and Enormities. This Obſervation is ſo common, that all prudent Men are on their Guard, when they meet with any extraordinary Appearance of Religion; tho' at the ſame Time, they confeſs, that there are many Exceptions to this general Rule, and that Probity and Superſtition are far from being incompatible.

Moſt Men are ambitious; but the Ambition of other Men may commonly be ſatisfy'd, by excelling in their particular Profeſſion, and thereby promoting the Intereſts of Society. The Ambition of the Clergy can often be ſatisfy'd only by promoting Ignorance and Superſtition and implicite Faith and pious Frauds. And having got what *Archimedes* only wanted, (*viz.* another World, on which he

nor do I think, that Men owe any thing of their Temper or Genius to the Air, Food, or Climate. I con-

he could fix his Engines) no Wonder they move this World at their Pleaſure.

Moſt Men have an over-weaning Conceit of themſelves; but *theſe* have a peculiar Temptation to that Vice, who are regarded with ſuch Veneration, and are even deem'd ſacred, by the ignorant Multitude.

Moſt Men are apt to bear a particular Regard for the Members of their own Profeſſion; but as a Lawyer, or Phyſician, or Merchant does, each of them, follow out his Buſineſs apart, the Intereſts of theſe Profeſſions are not ſo cloſely united as the Intereſts of Clergymen of the ſame Religion; where the whole Body gains by the Veneration, paid to their common Tenets, and by the Suppreſſion of Antagoniſts.

Few Men can bear Contradiction with Patience; but the Clergy too often proceed even to a Degree of Fury on this Article: Becauſe all their Credit and Livelihood depend upon the Belief, which their Opinions meet with; and they alone pretend to a divine and ſupernatural Authority, or have any Colour for repreſenting their Antagoniſts as impious and prophane. The *Odium Theologicum*, or Theological Hatred, is noted even to a Proverb, and means that Degree of Rancour, which is the moſt furious and implacable.

Thus many of the Vices of human Nature are, by fixt moral Cauſes, inflam'd in that Profeſſion; and tho' ſeveral Individuals eſcape the Contagion, yet all wiſe Govern-

I confeſs that the contrary Opinion may juſtly, at firſt Sight, ſeem very probable; ſince we find, that theſe Circumſtances have an Influence over every other Animal, and that even thoſe Creatures, which are fitted to live in all Climates, ſuch as Dogs, Horſes, &c. do not yet attain the ſame Perfection in all. The Courage of Bull-Dogs and Game-Cocks ſeems peculiar to *England*.

ments will be on their Guard againſt the Attempts of a Society, who will for ever combine into one Faction, and while it acts as a Society, will for ever be actuated by Ambition, Pride, and a perſecuting Spirit.

The Temper of Religion is grave and ſerious; and this is the Character requir'd of Prieſts, which confines them to ſtrict Rules of Decency, and commonly prevents Irregularity and Intemperance amongſt them. The Gaiety, much leſs the Exceſſes of Pleaſure, is not permitted in that Body; and this Virtue is, perhaps, the only one they owe to their Profeſſion. In Religions, indeed, founded on ſpeculative Principles, and where public Diſcourſes make a Part of religious Service, it may alſo be ſuppoſed that the Clergy will have a conſiderable Share in the Learning of the Times; tho' 'tis certain that their Taſte in Eloquence will always be better than their Skill in Reaſoning and Philoſophy. But whoever poſſeſſes the other noble Virtues of Humanity, Meekneſs, and Moderation, as very many of them, no Doubt, do, is beholden for them to Nature or Reflection, not to the Genius of his Calling.

Flanders

Flanders is remarkable for large and heavy Horſes: *Spain* for Horſes light, and of good Mettle. And any Breed of theſe Creatures, tranſported from one Country into another, will ſoon loſe the Qualities, which they deriv'd from their native Climate. It may be aſk'd, Why not the ſame with Men?

There are few Queſtions more curious than this, nor which will occur oftener in our Enquiries concerning human Affairs; and therefore it may be proper to give it a ſerious Examination.

The human Mind is of a very imitative Nature; nor is it poſſible, for any Set of Men, to converſe often together, without acquiring a Similitude of Manners, and communicating to each other their Vices as well as Virtues. The Propenſity to Company and Society is ſtrong in all rational Creatures; and the ſame Diſpoſition, which gives us this Propenſity, makes us enter deeply into each other's Sentiments, and cauſes like Paſſions and Inclinations to run, as it were by Contagion, thro' the whole Club or Knot of Companions. Where a Number of People are united into one political Body, the Occaſions of their Intercourſe muſt be ſo frequent,

for

for Defence, Commerce, and Government, that, along with the ſame Speech or Language, they muſt contract a Reſemblance in their Manners, and have a common or national Character, as well as a perſonal one, peculiar to each Individual. Now tho' Nature produces all Kinds of Temper and Underſtanding in great Abundance, it follows not that ſhe always produces them in like Proportions, and that in every Society the Ingredients of Induſtry and Indolence, Valour and Cowardice, Humanity and Brutality, Wiſdom and Folly will be mixt after the ſame Manner. In the Infancy of Society, if any of theſe Diſpoſitions be found in greater Abundance than the reſt, it will naturally prevail in the Compoſition, and give a Tincture to the national Character. Or ſhould it be aſſerted, that no Species of Temper can reaſonably be preſum'd to predominate, even in thoſe contracted Societies, and that the ſame Proportions will always be preſerv'd in the Mixture; yet ſurely the Perſons in Credit and Authority, being a more contracted Body, cannot always be preſum'd to be of the ſame Character; and their Influence on the Manners of the People, muſt, at all Times, be very conſiderable. If on the firſt Eſtabliſhmeut of a Republic, a *Brutus* ſhould be plac'd in Authority,

rity, and be tranſported with ſuch an Enthuſiaſm for Liberty and public Good, as to overlook all the Ties of Nature, as well as private Intereſt; ſuch an illuſtrious Example will naturally have an Effect on the whole Society, and kindle the ſame Paſſion in every Boſom. Whatever it be that forms the Manners of one Generation, the next muſt imbibe a deeper Tincture of the ſame Dye; Men being more ſuſceptible of all Impreſſions during Infancy, and retaining theſe Impreſſions as long as they remain in the World. I aſſert, then, that all national Characters, where they depend not on fixt *moral* Cauſes, proceed from ſuch Accidents as theſe, and that phyſical Cauſes have no diſcernible Operation on the human Mind.

If we run over the whole Globe, or revolve all the Annals of Hiſtory, we ſhall diſcover every-where Signs of this Sympathy or Contagion of Manners, and none of the Influence of Air or Climate.

Firſt. We may obſerve, that where a very extenſive Government has been eſtabliſh'd for many Centuries, it ſpreads a national Character over the whole Empire, and communicates to every

every Part a Similitude of Manners. Thus the *Chineſe* have the greateſt Uniformity of Character imaginable; tho' the Air and Climate, in different Parts of that vaſt Empire, admit of very conſiderable Variations.

Secondly. In ſmall Governments, which are very contiguous, the People have notwithſtanding a different Character, and are often as diſtinguiſhable in their Manners as the moſt diſtant Nations. *Athens* and *Thebes* were but a ſhort Day's Journey from each other; tho' the *Athenians* were as remarkable for Ingenuity, Politeneſs, and Gaiety, as the *Thebans* for Dulneſs, Ruſticity, and a phlegmatic Temper. *Plutarch*, diſcourſing of the Effects of Air on the Minds of Men, obſerves that the Inhabitants of the *Piræum*, poſſeſt very different Tempers from thoſe of the higher Town of *Athens*, which was diſtant about four Miles from it. But I believe no one attributes the Difference of Manners, in *Wapping* and St. *James*'s, to a Difference of Air or Climate.

Thirdly. The ſame national Character commonly follows the Authority of the Government to a preciſe Limit or Boundary; and upon croſſing a River, or paſſing a Mountain, one finds

a new Set of Manners along with a new Government. The *Languedocians* and *Gaſcons* are the gayeſt People of all *France*; but whenever you go over the *Pyrenees*, you are among *Spaniards*. Is it conceivable, that the Qualities of the Air ſhould change ſo exactly with the Limits of an Empire, which depend ſo much on the Accidents of Battles, Negotiations, and Marriages?

Fourthly. WHERE any Set of Men, ſcatter'd over diſtant Nations, have a cloſe Society or Communication together, they acquire a Similitude of Manners, and have but little in common with the Nations amongſt whom they live. Thus the *Jews* in *Europe*, and the *Armenians* in the Eaſt, have a peculiar Character; and the former are as much noted for Fraud, as the latter for Probity. The *Jeſuites*, in all *Roman-Catholic* Countries, are alſo obſerv'd to have a Character peculiar to themſelves.

Fifthly. WHERE any Accident, as a Difference of Language or Religion, keeps two Nations, inhabiting the ſame Country, from mixing with each other, they will preſerve a diſtinct and even oppoſite Set of Manners for ſeveral Centuries. The Integrity, Gravity, and Bravery

very of the *Turks* form an exact Contraſt to the Levity, Deceit, and Cowardice of the modern *Greeks*.

Sixthly. The ſame Set of Manners will follow a Nation, and adhere to them over the whole Globe, as well as the ſame Laws and Language. The *Spaniſh*, *Engliſh*, *French*, and *Dutch* Colonies are all diſtinguiſhable, even betwixt the Tropics.

Seventhly. The Manners of a People change very conſiderably from one Age to another; either by great Alterations in their Government, by the Mixtures of new People, or by that Inconſtancy, to which all human Affairs are ſubject. The Ingenuity and Induſtry of the ancient *Greeks* have nothing in common with the Stupidity and Indolence of the preſent Inhabitants of thoſe Regions. Candour, Bravery, and Love of Liberty, form'd the Character of the ancient *Romans*; as Subtilty, Cowardice, and a Slaviſh Diſpoſition do that of the modern. The old *Spaniards* were reſtleſs, turbulent, and ſo addicted to War, that many of them killed themſelves, when they were depriv'd of their Arms by the *Romans*. One would find an equal Difficulty, at preſent, (at leaſt fifty Years ago) to rouze up the

the modern *Spaniards* to Arms. The *Batavians* were all Soldiers of Fortune, and hir'd themſelves into the *Roman* Armies. Their Poſterity make uſe of Foreigners for the ſame Purpoſe that the *Romans* did their Anceſtors. Tho' ſome Strokes of the *French* Character be the ſame, which *Cæſar* has aſcrib'd to the *Gauls*; yet what Compariſon betwixt the Civility, Humanity and Knowledge of the modern Inhabitants of that Country, and the Ignorance, Barbarity and Groſſneſs of the ancient?

Eighthly. WHERE ſeveral neighbouring Nations have a very cloſe Communication together, either by Policy, Commerce, or Travelling, they acquire a Similitude of Manners, proportion'd to the Communication. Thus all the *Franks* ſeem to have a uniform Character to the Eaſtern Nations. The Differences among them are like the particular Accents of different Provinces, which are not diſtinguiſhable, except by an Ear accuſtom'd to them, and which commonly eſcape a Foreigner.

Ninthly. WE may often remark a wonderful Mixture of Manners and Character in the ſame Nation, ſpeaking the ſame Language, and ſubject

to

to the ſame Government: And in this Particular, the *Engliſh* are the moſt remarkable of any People, that ever were in the World. Nor is this to be aſcrib'd to the Mutability and Uncertainty of their Climate, or to any other *phyſical* Cauſes; ſince all theſe Cauſes take Place in their neighbouring Kingdom of *Scotland*, without having the ſame Effect. Where the Government of a Nation is altogether republican, it is apt to beget a particular Set of Manners. Where it is altogether monarchical, it is more apt to have the ſame Effect; the Imitation of Superiors ſpreading the national Manners faſter among the People. If a State conſiſts altogether of Merchants, ſuch as *Holland*, their uniform Way of Life will form their Character. If it conſiſts chiefly of Nobles and landed Gentry, like *Germany*, *France*, and *Spain*, the ſame Effect follows. The Genius of a particular Sect or Religion is alſo apt to mould the Manners of a People. But the *Engliſh* Government is a Mixture of Monarchy, Ariſtocracy, and Democracy. The People are compos'd of Gentry and Merchants. All Sects of Religion are to be found amongſt them. And the great Liberty and Independency, which they enjoy, allows every one to diſplay the Manners, which are peculiar to him. Hence the *Engliſh*,

of

of any People in the Univerſe, have the leaſt of a national Character; unleſs this very Singularity be made their national Character.

IF the Characters of Men depended on the Air and Climate, the Degrees of Heat and Cold ſhould naturally be expected to have a mighty Influence; ſince nothing has a greater Effect on all Plants and irrational Animals. And indeed, there is ſome Reaſon to think, that all the Nations, which live beyond the polar Circles or betwixt the Tropics, are inferior to the reſt of the Species, and are utterly incapable of all the higher Attainments of the human Mind. The Poverty and Miſery of the northern Inhabitants of the Globe, and the Indolence of the ſouthern, may, perhaps, account for this remarkable Difference, without having Recourſe to *phyſical* Cauſes. This however is certain, that the Characters of Nations are very promiſcuous in the temperate Climates, and that almoſt all the general Obſervations, which have been form'd of the more ſouthern or more northern Nations in theſe Climates, are found to be uncertain and fallacious.

SHALL we ſay, that the Neighbourhood of the Sun inflames the Imagination of Men, and gives

them a peculiar Spirit and Vivacity? The *French*, *Greeks*, *Egyptians* and *Perſians* are remarkable for Gaiety: The *Spaniards*, *Turks* and *Chineſe* are noted for Gravity and a ſerious Behaviour; without any ſuch Difference of Climate, as to produce this Difference of Temper.

THE *Greeks* and *Romans*, who call'd all other Nations Barbarians, confin'd Genius and a fine Underſtanding to the more ſouthern Climates, and pronounc'd the northern Nations incapable of all Knowledge and Civility. But *Britain* has produc'd as great Men, either for Action or Learning, as *Greece* or *Italy* have to boaſt of.

'TIS pretended, that the Sentiments of Men become more delicate as they approach nearer the Sun; and that their Taſte of Beauty and Elegance of every Kind receives proportionable Improvements in every Latitude, as we may particularly obſerve of the Languages, of which the more ſouthern are ſmooth and melodious, the northern harſh and untuneable. But this Obſervation holds not univerſally. The *Arabic* is uncouth and diſagreeable: The *Muſcovite* ſoft and muſical. Energy, Strength, and ſometimes Harſhneſs form the Character of the *Latin* Tongue;

The *Italian* is the moſt liquid, ſmooth, and effeminate Language, that can poſſibly be imagin'd. Every Language will depend ſomewhat on the Manners of the People; but much more on that original Stock of Words and Sounds, which they receiv'd from their Anceſtors, and which remain unchangeable, even while their Manners admit of the greateſt Alterations. Who can doubt, that the *Engliſh* are at preſent a much more polite and knowing People than the *Greeks* were for ſeveral Ages after the Siege of *Troy*? Yet there is no Compariſon between the Language of *Milton* and that of *Homer*. Nay, the greater are the Alterations and Improvements, which happen in the Manners of a People, the leſs can be expected in their Language. A few great and refin'd Geniuſes will communicate their Taſte and Knowledge to a whole People, and produce the greateſt Improvements: But they fix the Tongue by their Writings, and prevent, in ſome Degree, its farther Changes.

MY Lord *Bacon* has obſerv'd, that the Inhabitants of the South are, in general, more ingenious than thoſe of the North; but that, where the Native of a cold Climate has Genius, he riſes to a higher Pitch than can be reached by the

ſouthern Wits. This Obſervation a late Writer † confirms, by comparing the ſouthern Wits to Cucumbers, which are commonly all good of their Kind; but at the beſt are an inſipid Fruit: While the northern Geniuſes are like Melons, of which not one in fifty is good; but when it is good, it has an exquiſite Reliſh. I believe this Remark may be allow'd juſt, when confin'd to the *European* Nations, and to the preſent Age, or rather to the preceding one: But then I think it may be accounted for by moral Cauſes. All the Sciences and liberal Arts have been imported to us from the South; and 'tis eaſy to imagine, that, in the firſt Ardour of Application, when excited by Emulation and by Glory, the few, that were addicted to them, would carry them to the greateſt Height, and ſtretch every Nerve, and every Faculty, to reach the Pinnacle of Perfection. Such illuſtrious Examples ſpread Knowledge every where, and begot an univerſal Eſteem for the Sciences: After which, 'tis no Wonder, that Induſtry relaxes; while Men meet not with ſuitable Encouragements, nor arrive at ſuch Diſtinction by their Attainments. The univerſal Diffuſion of Learning among a People, and the entire Baniſhment of groſs Ignorance and Ruſticity is,

† Dr. *Berkeley*: Minute Philoſopher.

therefore,

therefore, ſeldom attended with any remarkable Perfection in particular Perſons. " Formerly, ſays " *Juvenal*, Learning was confin'd to *Greece* and " *Italy*. Now the whole World emulate *Athens* " and *Rome*. Eloquent *Gaul* has taught *Bri-* " *tain*, knowing in the Laws. Even *Thulé* en- " tertains Thoughts of hiring Rhetoricians for its " Inſtruction." * This State of Learning is remarkable; becauſe *Juvenal* is himſelf the laſt of the *Roman* Writers, who poſſeſt any Degree of Genius: Thoſe, who ſucceeded, are valued for nothing but the Matters of Fact, of which they give us Information. I wiſh the late Converſion of *Muſcovy* to the Study of the Sciences may not prove a like Prognoſtic to the preſent Period of Learning.

Cardinal *Bentivoglio* gives the Preference to the northern Nations above the ſouthern with regard to Candour and Sincerity; and mentions, on the one Hand, the *Spaniards* and *Italians*, and on the other, the *Flemiſh* and *Germans*.

* *Sed Cantaber unde*
Stoicus? antiqui præſertim ætate Metelli.
Nunc totus Graias, noſtraſque habet orbis Athenas.
Gallia cauſidicos docuit facunda Britannos:
De conducendo loquitur jam rhetore Thulé. Satyr. 15.

But I am apt to think, that this has happened by Accident. The ancient *Romans* ſeem to have been a candid ſincere People; as are the modern *Turks*. But if we will needs ſuppoſe, that this Event has ariſen from fixt Cauſes, we may only conclude from it, that all Extremes are apt to concur, and are commonly attended with the ſame Conſequences. Treachery is the moſt uſual Concomitant of Ignorance and Barbarity; and if civiliz'd Nations ever embrace ſubtle and crooked Politics, 'tis from an Exceſs of Refinement, which makes them diſdain the plain direct Road to Power and Glory.

Most Conqueſts have gone from North to South; and thence it has been infer'd, that the northern Nations poſſeſs a ſuperior Degree of Courage and Ferocity. But it would have been juſter to have ſaid, that moſt Conqueſts are made by Poverty and Want upon Plenty and Riches. The *Saracens*, leaving the Deſerts of *Arabia*, carried their Conqueſts northwards upon all the fertile Provinces of the *Roman* Empire; and met the *Turks* half Way, who were coming ſouthwards from the Deſerts of *Tartary*.

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An eminent Writer * has remark'd, that all couragious Animals are alſo carnivorous, and that greater Courage is to be expected in a People, ſuch as the *Engliſh*, whoſe Food is ſtrong and hearty, than in the half-ſtarv'd Commonalty of other Countries. But the *Swedes*, notwithſtanding their Diſadvantages in this Particular, are not inferior, in martial Courage, to any Nation that ever was in the World.

In general, we may obſerve, that Courage, of all national Qualities, is the moſt precarious; becauſe it is exerted only at Intervals, and by a few in every Nation; whereas Induſtry, Knowledge, Civility, may be of conſtant and univerſal Uſe, and may become habitual to the whole People. If Courage be preſerv'd, it muſt be by Diſcipline, Example, and Opinion †. The tenth Legion of *Cæſar*, and the Regiment of *Picardy* in

* Sir *William Temple*'s Account of the Netherlands.

† As a Proof how much Courage depends on Opinion, we may obſerve, that of the two chief Tribes of the *Greeks*, the *Dorians* and *Ionians*, the former were always eſteem'd, and always appear'd more brave and manly than the latter; tho' the Colonies of both the Tribes were interſpers'd and intermingled thro' all the Extent of *Greece*,

in *France* were form'd promiſcuouſly from amongſt the Citizens; but having once entertain'd a Notion, that they were the beſt Troops in the Service, this very Opinion really made them ſuch.

THE only Obſervation, with regard to the Differences of Men in different Climates, on which we can repoſe any Weight, is the Vulgar one, that People in the northern Regions have a greater Inclination to ſtrong Liquors, and thoſe in the ſouthern to Love and Women. One can aſſign a very probable *phyſical* Cauſe for this Difference. Wine and diſtill'd Spirits warm the frozen Blood in the colder Climates, and fortify Men againſt the Injuries of the Weather: As the genial Heat of the Sun, in the Countries, expos'd to his Beams, inflames the Blood, and exalts the Paſſion betwixt the Sexes.

PERHAPS too, the Matter may be accounted for by *moral* Cauſes. All ſtrong Liquors are rarer in the North, and conſequently are more

the leſſer *Aſia*, *Sicily*, *Italy* and the Iſlands of the *Ægean* Sea. The *Athenians* were the only *Ionians* that ever had any Reputation for Valour or military Atchievements; tho' even theſe were eſteem'd inferior to the *Lacedæmonians*, the braveſt of the *Dorians*.

coveted.

coveted. *Diodorus Siculus* * tells us, that the *Gauls*, in his Time, were great Drunkards, and much addicted to Wine, chiefly from its Rarity and Novelty. On the other Hand, the Heat in the ſouthern Climates, obliging Men and Women to go half naked, thereby renders their frequent Commerce more dangerous, and inflames their mutual Paſſion. This makes Parents and Huſbands more jealous and reſerv'd; which ſtill farther inflames the Paſſion. Not to mention, that as Women ripen ſooner in the ſouthern Regions, 'tis neceſſary to obſerve greater Jealouſy and Care in their Education; it being evident that a Girl of twelve cannot poſſeſs equal Diſcretion to govern the Furies of this Paſſion, as one, who feels not its Violence till ſhe be ſeventeen or eighteen.

PERHAPS too, the Fact is falſe, that Nature has, either from moral or phyſical Cauſes, diſtributed theſe different Inclinations to the different Climates. The ancient *Greeks*, tho' born in a warm Climate, ſeem to have been much addicted

* *Lib.* 5. The ſame Author aſcribes Taciturnity to that People; a new Proof that national Characters may alter very much.

to the Bottle; nor were their Parties of Pleaſure any thing but Matches of Drinking amongſt the Men, who paſt their Time altogether apart from the Fair-Sex. Yet when *Alexander* led the *Greeks* into *Perſia*, a ſtill more ſouthern Climate, they multiplied their Debauches of this Kind, in Imitation of the *Perſian* Manners. So honourable was the Character of a Drunkard amongſt the *Perſians*, that *Cyrus* the younger, ſoliciting the ſober *Lacedemonians* for Succour againſt his Brother, *Artaxerxes*, claims it chiefly on Account of his ſuperior Endowments, as more valorous, more bountiful, and a better Drinker. *Darius Hyſtaſpes* made it be inſcribed on his Tombſtone, among his other Virtues and Princely Qualities, that no one could bear a greater Quantity of Liquor. You may obtain any Thing of the *Negroes* by offering them ſtrong Liquors; and may eaſily prevail with them to ſell, not only their Parents, but their Wives and Miſtreſſes, for a Caſk of Brandy. In *France* and *Italy* no Body ever drinks pure Wine, except in the greateſt Heats of Summer; and indeed, it is then almoſt as neceſſary, in order to recruit the Spirits, evaporated by Heat, as it is in *Sweden*, during the Winter, in order to warm the Bodies congeal'd by the Rigour of the Seaſon.

IF Jealouſy be regarded as a Proof of an amorous Diſpoſition, no People were more jealous than the *Muſcovites*, before their Communication with *Europe* had ſomewhat alter'd their Manners in this Particular.

BUT ſuppoſing the Fact true, that Nature, by phyſical Principles, has regularly diſtributed theſe two Paſſions, the one to the northern, the other to the ſouthern Regions; we can only infer, that the Climate may affect the groſſer and more bodily Organs of our Frame; not that it can work upon thoſe finer Organs, on which the Operations of the Mind and Underſtanding depend. And this is agreeable to the Analogy of Nature. The Races of Animals never degenerate when carefully tended; and Horſes, in particular, always ſhow their Blood in their Shape, Spirit, and Swiftneſs: But a Coxcomb may beget a Philoſopher, as a Man of Virtue may leave a Scoundrel Progeny.

I SHALL conclude this Subject with obſerving, that tho' the Paſſion for Liquor be much more brutal and debaſing than Love, which, when properly manag'd, is the Source of all Politeneſs

neſs and Refinement; yet this gives not ſo great an Advantage to the ſouthern Climates, as we may be apt, at firſt Sight, to imagine. When Love goes beyond a certain Pitch, it renders Men jealous, and cuts off the free Intercourſe betwixt the Sexes, on which the Politeneſs of a Nation will always much depend. And if we would ſubtilize and refine upon this Point, we might obſerve, that Nations, in very temperate Climates, ſtand the faireſt Chance for all Sorts of Improvement; their Blood not being ſo inflam'd as to render them jealous, and yet being warm enough to make them ſet a due Value on the Charms and Endowments of the Fair Sex.

ESSAY II.

Of the ORIGINAL CONTRACT.

AS no Party, in the preſent Age, can pretend to ſupport itſelf, without a philoſophical or ſpeculative Syſtem of Principles, annex'd to its political or practical ones; we accordingly find, that each of the Parties, into which this Nation is divided, has rear'd up a Fabric of this Kind, in order to protect and cover that Scheme of Actions, which it proſecutes. The People being commonly very rough Builders, eſpecially in this ſpeculative way, and more eſpecially ſtill, when actuated by Party Zeal; 'tis natural to imagine, that their Workmanſhip muſt be a little unſhapely, and diſcover evident Marks of that Violence and Hurry, in which it was rais'd. The one Party, by tracing up the Origin of Government to the DEITY, endeavour to render it ſo ſacred and inviolate, that it muſt be

be little leſs than Sacrilege, however diſorderly it may become, to touch or invade it, in the ſmalleſt Article. The other Party, by founding Government altogether on the Conſent of the PEOPLE, ſuppoſe that there is a Kind of *original Contract*, by which the Subjects have reſerv'd the Power of reſiſting their Sovereign, whenever they find themſelves aggrieved by that Authority, with which they have, for certain Purpoſes, voluntarily entruſted him. Theſe are the ſpeculative Principles of the two Parties; and theſe too are the practical Conſequences, deduc'd from them.

I SHALL venture to affirm, *That both theſe* Syſtems *of ſpeculative Principles are juſt; tho' not in the Senſe, intended by the Parties:* And *That both the* Schemes *of practical Conſequences are prudent; tho' not in the Extremes, to which each Party, in Oppoſition to the other, has commonly endeavoured to carry them.*

THAT the DEITY is the ultimate Author of all Government, will never be denied by any one who admits a general Providence, and allows, that all Events in the Univerſe are conducted by a uniform Plan and directed to wiſe Purpo-

Purpoſes. As 'tis impoſſible for human Race to ſubſiſt, at leaſt in any comfortable or ſecure State, without the Protection of Government; it muſt certainly have been intended by that beneficent Being, who means the Good of all his Creatures: And as it has univerſally, in Fact, taken place, in all Countries and all Ages; we may conclude, with ſtill greater Certainty, that it was intended by that omniſcient Being, who can never be deceived by any Event or Operation. But ſince he gave riſe to it, not by any particular or miraculous Interpoſition, but by his concealed and univerſal Efficacy; a Sovereign cannot, properly ſpeaking, be called his Vice-gerent, in any other Senſe than every Power or Force, being deriv'd from him, may be ſaid to act by his Commiſſion. Whatever actually happens is comprehended in the general Plan or Intention of Providence; nor has the greateſt and moſt lawful Prince any more Reaſon, upon that Account, to plead a peculiar Sacredneſs or inviolable Authority, than an inferior Magiſtrate, or even an Uſurper, or even a Robber and a Pyrate. The ſame divine Super-intendant, who, for wiſe Purpoſes, inveſted an *Elizabeth* or a *Harry** with Authority, did alſo, for Purpoſes,

* *Harry* the IVth of *France*.

no

no doubt, equally wiſe, tho' unknown, beſtow Power on a *Borgia* or an *Angria*. The ſame Cauſes, which gave Riſe to the Sovereign Power in every State, did alſo eſtabliſh every petty Juriſdiction in it, and every limited Authority. A Conſtable, therefore, no leſs than a King, acts by a divine Commiſſion, and poſſeſſes an indefeaſible Right.

WHEN we conſider how nearly equal all Men are in their bodily Force, and even in their mental Powers and Faculties, 'ere cultivated by Education; we muſt neceſſarily allow, that nothing but their own Conſent cou'd, at firſt, aſſociate them together, and ſubject them to any Authority. The PEOPLE, if we trace up Government to its firſt Origin, in the Woods and Deſerts, are the Source of all Power and Juriſdiction, and voluntarily, for the Sake of Peace and Order, abandon'd their native Liberty, and receiv'd Laws from their Equal and Companion. The Conditions, upon which they were willing to ſubmit, were either expreſt, or were ſo clear and obvious, that it might well be eſteem'd ſuperfluous to expreſs them. If this, then, be meant by the *original Contract*, it cannot be denied, that all Government is, at firſt, founded on a

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Contract, and that the moſt ancient rude Combinations of Mankind were form'd entirely by that Principle. In vain, are we ſent to the Records to ſeek for this Charter of our Liberties. It was not wrote on Parchment, nor yet on Leaves or Barks of Trees. It preceded the Uſe of Writing, and all the other civiliz'd Arts of Life. But we trace it plainly in the Nature of Man, and in the Equality, which we find in all the Individuals of that Species. The Force, which now prevails, and which is founded on Fleets and Armies, is plainly political, and deriv'd from Authority, the Effect of eſtabliſh'd Government. A Man's natural Force conſiſts only in the Vigour of his Limbs and Firmneſs of his Courage; which could never ſubject Multitudes to his Command. Nothing but their own Conſent, and their Senſe of the Advantages of Peace and Order, could have had that Influence.

BUT Philoſophers, who have embrac'd a Party (if that be not a Contradiction in Terms) are not contented with theſe Conceſſions. They aſſert, not only that Government in its earlieſt Infancy aroſe from Conſent, or the voluntary Combination of the People, but alſo, that, even at

preſent, when it has attain'd its full Maturity, it reſts on no other Foundation. They affirm, that all Men are ſtill born equal, and owe Allegiance to no Prince or Government, unleſs bound by the Obligation and Sanction of a *Promiſe*. And as no Man, without ſome Equivalent, would forego the Advantages of his native Liberty, and ſubject himſelf to the Will of another; this Promiſe is always underſtood to be conditional, and impoſes on him no Obligation, unleſs he meets with Juſtice and Protection from his Sovereign. Theſe Advantages the Sovereign promiſes him in return; and if he fails in the Execution, he has broke his Articles of Engagement, and thereby freed his Subjects from all Obligations to Allegiance. Such, according to theſe Philoſophers, is the Foundation of Authority in every Government; and ſuch the Right of Reſiſtance, poſſeſt by every Subject.

BUT would theſe Reaſoners look abroad into the World, they would meet with nothing that, in the leaſt, correſponds to their Ideas, or can warrant ſo refin'd and philoſophical a Syſtem. On the contrary, we find, every where, Princes, who claim their Subjects as their Property, and aſſert their independent Right of Sovereignty,

ty, from Conqueſt or Succeſſion. We find alſo, every where, Subjects, who acknowledge this Right in their Princes, and ſuppoſe themſelves born under Obligations of Obedience to a certain Sovereign, as much as under the Ties of Reverence and Duty to certain Parents. Theſe Connexions are always conceived to be equally independent of our Conſent, in *Perſia* and *China*; in *France* and *Spain*; and even in *Holland* and *England*, wherever the Doctrines abovemention'd have not been carefully inculcated. Obedience or Subjection becomes ſo familiar, that moſt Men never make any Enquiry about its Origin or Cauſe, more than about the Principle of Gravity, Reſiſtance, or the moſt univerſal Laws of Nature. Or if Curioſity ever move them; as ſoon as they learn, that they themſelves and their Anceſtors have, for ſeveral Ages, or from Time immemorial, been ſubject to ſuch a Government or ſuch a Family; they immediately acquieſce, and acknowledge their Duty of Allegiance. Were you to preach, in moſt Parts of the World, that political Connexions are founded altogether on voluntary Conſent or a mutual Promiſe, the Magiſtrate would ſoon impriſon you, as ſeditious, for looſening the Tyes of Obedience; if your Friends did not before ſhut you up, as delirious,

for advancing ſuch Abſurdities. 'Tis ſtrange, that an Act of the Mind, which every Individual is ſuppos'd to have form'd, and after he came to the Uſe of Reaſon too, otherwiſe it cou'd have no Authority; that this Act, I ſay, ſhould be ſo unknown to all of them, that, over the Face of the whole Earth, there ſcarce remain any Traces or Memory of it.

BUT the Contract, on which Government is founded, is ſaid to be the *original Contract*; and conſequently may be ſuppos'd too old to fall under the Knowledge of the preſent Generation. If the Agreement, by which ſavage Men firſt aſſociated and conjoin'd their Force, be here meant, this is acknowledged to be real; but being ſo ancient, and being obliterated by a thouſand Changes of Government and Princes, it cannot now be ſuppos'd to retain any Authority. If we would ſay any Thing to the Purpoſe, we muſt aſſert, that every particular Government, which is lawful, and which impoſes any Duty of Allegiance on the Subject, was, at firſt, founded on Conſent and a voluntary Compact. But beſides that this ſuppoſes the Conſent of the Fathers to bind the Children, even to the moſt remote Generations (which republican

lican Writers will never allow) beſides this, I ſay, it is not juſtified by Hiſtory or Experience, in any Age or Country of the World.

ALMOST all the Governments, which exiſt at preſent, or of which there remains any Record in Story, have been founded originally, either on Uſurpation, or Conqueſt, or both, without any Pretence of a fair Conſent, or voluntary Subjection of the People. When an artful and bold Man is plac'd at the Head of an Army or Faction, 'tis often eaſy for him, by employing ſometimes Violence, ſometimes falſe Pretences, to eſtabliſh his Dominion over a People a hundred Times more numerous than his Partizans. He allows no ſuch open Communication, that his Enemies can know, with Certainty, their Number or Forces. He gives them no Leiſure to aſſemble together in a Body to oppoſe him. Even all thoſe, who are the Inſtruments of his Uſurpation, may wiſh his Fall; but their Ignorance of each other's Intentions keeps them in Awe, and is the ſole Cauſe of his Security. By ſuch Arts as theſe many Governments have been eſtabliſh'd; and this is all the *original Contract* they have to boaſt of.

THE Face of the Earth is continually changing, by the Encreaſe of ſmall Kingdoms into mighty Empires, by the Diſſolution of great Empires into ſmaller Kingdoms, by the planting of Colonies, by the Migration of Tribes. Is there any Thing diſcoverable, in all theſe Events, but Force and Violence? Where is the mutual Agreement or voluntary Aſſociation ſo much talkt of?

EVEN the ſmootheſt Way, by which a Nation may receive a foreign Maſter, by Marriage or a Will, is not extremely honourable for the People; but ſuppoſes them to be diſpos'd of, like a Dowry or a Legacy, according to the Pleaſure or Intereſt of their Rulers.

BUT where no Force interpoſes, and Election takes place; what is this Election ſo highly vaunted? 'Tis either a few great Men, who decide for the Whole, and will allow of no Contradiction or Oppoſition: Or 'tis the Rabble, that follow a ſeditious Ring-leader, who is not known, perhaps, to a dozen amongſt them, and who owes his Advancement merely to his Impudence, or the momentary Caprice of his Fellows.

Fellows. Are theſe diſorderly Elections, which are rare too, of ſuch mighty Authority, as to be the only lawful Foundation of all Government and Allegiance?

IN reality, there is not a more terrible Event, than a total Diſſolution of Government, which gives Liberty to the Multitude, and makes the Determination or Choice of the new Eſtabliſhment depend upon a Number, that nearly approaches the Body of the People: For it never comes entirely to the whole Body of them. Every wiſe Man, then, wiſhes to ſee, at the Head of a powerful and obedient Army, a General, who may ſpeedily ſeize the Prize, and give to the People a Maſter, which they are ſo unfit to chooſe for themſelves. So little correſpondent is Fact and Reality to thoſe philoſophical Notions.

LET not the Eſtabliſhment at the *Revolution*, deceive us, or make us ſo much in Love with a philoſphical Origin to Government, as to imagine all others monſtrous and irregular. Even that was far from corresponding to theſe refin'd Ideas. 'Twas only the Succeſſion, and that only in the regal Part of the Government, which was then changed: And 'twas only the

Majority of ſeven hundred, who determin'd that Change for near ſeven Millions. I doubt not, indeed, but the Bulk of theſe ſeven Millions acquieſc'd willingly in the Determination: But was the Matter left, in the leaſt, to their Choice? Was it not juſtly ſuppoſed to be, from that Moment, decided, and every Man puniſh'd, who refus'd to ſubmit to the new Sovereign? How otherways could the Matter have ever been brought to any Iſſue or Concluſion?

THE Republic of *Athens* was, I believe, the moſt extenſive Democracy we read of in Hiſtory: Yet if we make the requiſite Allowances for the Women, the Slaves, and the Strangers, we ſhall find, that that Eſtabliſhment was not, at firſt, made, nor any Law ever voted, by a tenth Part of thoſe, who were bound to pay Obedience to it. Not to mention the Iſlands and foreign Dominions, which the *Athenians* claim'd as theirs by Right of Conqueſt. And as 'tis well known, that popular Aſſemblies in that City were always full of Licence and Diſorder, notwithſtanding of the Forms and Laws, by which they were checkt: How much more diſorderly muſt they be, where they form not the eſtabliſh'd Conſtitution, but aſſemble tumultuouſly on the Diſ-

Diſſolution of the ancient Government, in order to give riſe to a new one? How chimerical muſt it be to talk of a Choice in any ſuch Circumſtances?

'TIS in vain to ſay, that all Governments are, or ſhou'd be, at firſt, founded on popular Conſent, as much as the Neceſſity of human Affairs will admit. This favours entirely my Pretenſion. I maintain, that human Affairs never will admit of this Conſent; ſeldom of the Appearance of it: But that Conqueſt or Uſurpation, that is, in plain Terms, Force, by diſſolving the ancient Governments, is the Origin of almoſt all the new ones, that ever were eſtabliſh'd in the World. And that in the few Caſes, wherein Conſent may ſeem to have taken place, it was ſo irregular, ſo confin'd, or ſo much intermix'd either with Fraud or Violence, that it cannot have any great Authority.

WHEN a new Government is eſtabliſh'd, by whatever Arts, the People are commonly diſſatisfy'd with it, and pay Obedience more from Fear and Neceſſity, than from any Idea of Allegiance or moral Obligation. The Prince is watchful and jealous, and muſt carefully guard

againſt every Beginning or Appearance of Inſurrection. Time, by Degrees, removes all theſe Difficulties, and accuſtoms the Nation to regard, as their lawful or native Princes, that Family, whom, at firſt, they conſidered as Uſurpers or foreign Conquerors. In order to found this Opinion, they have no Recourſe to any Notion of voluntary Conſent or Promiſe, which, they know, never was, in this Caſe, either expected or demanded. The original Eſtabliſhment was form'd by Violence, and ſubmitted to from Neceſſity. The ſubſequent Adminiſtration is alſo ſupported by Power, and acquieſc'd in by the People, not as a Matter of Choice, but of Obligation. They imagine not, that their Conſent gives their Prince a Title: But they willingly conſent, becauſe they think, that, from long Poſſeſſion, he has acquir'd a Title, independent of their Choice or Inclination.

SHOULD it be ſaid, that by living under the Dominion of a Prince, which one might leave, every Individual has given a *tacit* Conſent to his Authority, and promis'd him Obedience; it may be anſwer'd, That ſuch imply'd Conſent can only take place, where a Man imagines, that the Matter depends on his Choice. But where

where he thinks (as all Mankind do, who are born under eſtabliſh'd Governments) that by his Birth he owes Allegiance to a certain Prince or certain Government; it would be abſurd to infer a Conſent or Choice, which he expreſly, in this Caſe, renounces and abjures.

CAN we ſeriouſly ſay, that a poor Peaſant or Artizan has a free Choice to leave his own Country, when he knows no foreign Language or Manners, and lives from Day to Day, by the ſmall Wages he acquires? We may as well aſſert, that a Man, by remaining in a Veſſel, freely conſents to the Dominion of the Maſter; tho' he was carry'd on board while aſleep, and muſt leap into the Ocean, and periſh, the Moment he leaves her.

WHAT if the Prince forbid his Subjects to leave his Dominions; as *Tiberius* puniſh'd a *Roman* Senator for attempting to fly to the *Parthians*, in order to eſcape his Tyranny? Or as the ancient *Muſcovites* prohibited all travelling under Pain of Death? And did a Prince obſerve, that many of his Subjects were ſeiz'd with the Frenzy of tranſporting themſelves to foreign Nations, he would doubtleſs, with great Reaſon

Reaſon and Juſtice, reſtrain it, in order to prevent the Depopulation of his own Country. Would he forfeit the Allegiance of all his Subjects, by ſo wiſe and reaſonable a Law? Yet the Freedom of their Choice is ſurely, in that Caſe, raviſh'd from them.

A COMPANY of Men, who ſhould leave their native Country, in order to People ſome uninhabited Region, might dream of recovering their native Freedom; but they would ſoon find, that their Prince ſtill laid claim to them, and call'd them his Subjects, even in their new Settlement. And in this he would act entirely conformable to the common Ideas of Mankind.

THE trueſt *tacit* Conſent of this Kind, which is ever obſerv'd, is when a Foreigner ſettles in any Country, and is beforehand acquainted with the Prince, and Government, and Laws, to which he muſt ſubmit: Yet is his Allegiance, tho' more voluntary, much leſs expected or depended on, than that of a natural born Subject. On the contrary, his native Prince ſtill aſſerts a Right to him. And if he puniſhes not the Renegade, when he ſeizes him in War with his new Prince's Commiſſion; this Clemency

is

is not founded on the municipal Law, which in all Countries condemns the Priſoner; but on the Conſent of Princes, who have agreed to this Indulgence, in order to prevent Repriſals.

SUPPOSE an Uſurper, after having baniſh'd his lawful Prince and royal Family, ſhould eſtabliſh his Dominion for ten or a dozen Years in any Country, and ſhould preſerve ſuch an exact Diſcipline in his Troops, and ſo regular a Diſpoſition in his Gariſons, that no Inſurrection had ever been rais'd, or even Murmur heard, againſt his Adminiſtration: Can it be aſſerted, that the People, who in their Hearts abhor his Treaſon, have tacitly conſented to his Authority, and promis'd him Allegiance, merely becauſe, from Neceſſity, they live under his Dominion? Suppoſe again their natural Prince reſtor'd, by Means of an Army, which he aſſembles in foreign Countries: They receive him with Joy and Exultation, and ſhew plainly with what Reluctance they had ſubmitted to any other Yoke. I may now aſk, upon what Foundation the Prince's Title ſtands? Not on popular Conſent ſurely: For tho' the People willingly acquieſce in his Authority, they never imagine, that their Conſent makes him Sovereign: They conſent; becauſe

becauſe they apprehend him to be already, by Birth, their lawful Sovereign. And as to that tacit Conſent, which may now be infer'd from their living under his Dominion, this is no more than what they formerly gave to the Tyrant and Uſurper.

WHEN we aſſert, that all lawful Government ariſes from the People, we certainly do them a great deal more Honour than they deſerve, or even expect and deſire from us. After the *Roman* Dominions became too unweildy for the Republic to govern, the People, over the whole known World, were extremely grateful to *Auguſtus* for that Authority, which, by Violence, he eſtabliſh'd over them; and they ſhew'd an equal Diſpoſition to ſubmit to the Succeſſor, whom he left them, by his laſt Will and Teſtament. It was afterwards their Misfortune, that there never was, in one Family, any long regular Succeſſion; but that their Line of Princes was continually broke, either by private Aſſaſſinations or public Rebellions. The *Prætorian* Bands, on the Failure of every Family, ſet up one Emperor: the Legions in the *Eaſt* a ſecond: thoſe in *Germany*, perhaps, a third: And the Sword alone could decide their Pretenſions. The Condition of

of the People, in that mighty Monarchy, was to be lamented, not becauſe the Choice of Emperor was never left to them; for that was impracticable: But becauſe they never fell under any Succeſſion of Maſters, who might regularly follow each other. As to the Violence and Wars and Bloodſhed, occaſion'd by every new Settlement; thoſe were blameleſs, becauſe inevitable.

THE Houſe of *Lancaſter* rul'd in *England* about ſixty Years: The preſent Eſtabliſhment has taken Place very near the ſame Time. Have all Views of Right in another Family been utterly extinguiſh'd; even tho' few Men now alive had arriv'd at Years of Diſcretion, when it was expell'd, or could have conſented to its Dominion, or have promis'd it Allegiance? A ſufficient Indication ſurely of the general Sentiment of Mankind on this Head. For we blame not the Adherents of the abdicated Family, merely on Account of the long Time they have preſerv'd their imaginary Fidelity. We blame them for adhering to a Family, which, we affirm, has been juſtly expell'd, and which, from the Moment the new Settlement took place, had forfeited all Title to Authority.

BUT

BUT would we have a more regular, at leaſt, a more philoſophical Refutation of this Principle of an original Contract or popular Conſent; perhaps, the following Obſervations may ſuffice.

ALL *moral* Duties may be divided into two Kinds. The *firſt* are thoſe, to which Men are impell'd by a natural Inſtinct or immediate Propenſity, that operates in them, independent of all Ideas of Obligation, and of all Views either to public or private Utility. Of this Nature are, Love of Children, Gratitude to Benefactors, Pity to the Misfortunate. When we reflect on the Advantage, that reſults to Society from ſuch humane Inſtincts, we pay them the juſt Tribute of moral Approbation and Eſteem: But the Perſon, actuated by them, feels their Power and Influence, antecedent to any ſuch Reflection.

THE *ſecond* Kind of moral Duties are ſuch as are not ſupported by any original Inſtincts of Nature, but are perform'd entirely from a Senſe of Obligation, when we conſider the Neceſſities of human Society, and the Impoſſibility of ſupporting it, if theſe Duties were neglected. 'Tis thus *Juſtice* or a Regard to the Property of others,

others, *Fidelity* or the Obſervance of Promiſes, become moral Duties, and acquire an Authority over Mankind. For as 'tis evident that every Man loves himſelf better than any other Perſon, he is naturally impell'd to acquire as much as poſſible; and nothing can ever reſtrain him, in this Propenſity, but Reflection and Experience, by which he learns the pernicious Effects of that Licence, and the total Diſſolution of Society, which muſt enſue from it. His original Inclination, therefore, or Inſtinct is here check'd and reſtrain'd by a ſubſequent Judgment or Obſervation.

THE Caſe is preciſely the ſame with the political or civil Duty of *Allegiance*, as with the natural Duties of Juſtice and Fidelity. Our primary Inſtincts lead us, either to indulge ourſelves in unlimited Liberty, or to ſeek Dominion over others: And 'tis Reflection only, that engages us to ſacrifice ſuch ſtrong Paſſions to the Intereſts of Peace and Order. A very ſmall Degree of Experience and Obſervation ſuffices to teach us, that Society cannot poſſibly be maintained without the Authority of Magiſtrates, and that that Authority muſt ſoon fall into Contempt, where exact Obedience is not pay'd to it. The

Obſervation of theſe general and obvious Intereſts is the Source of all Allegiance, and of that moral Obligation, which we attribute to it.

WHAT Neceſſity is there, therefore, to found the Duty of *Allegiance* or Obedience to Magiſtrates on that of *Fidelity* or a Regard to Promiſes, and to ſuppoſe, that 'tis the Conſent of each Individual, which ſubjects him to Government; when it appears, that both Allegiance and Fidelity ſtand preciſely on the ſame Foundation, and are both ſubmitted to by Mankind, on Account of the apparent Intereſts and Neceſſities of human Society? We are bound to obey our Sovereign, 'tis ſaid; becauſe we have given a tacit Promiſe to that Purpoſe. But why are we bound to obſerve our Promiſe? It muſt be aſſerted, that the Commerce and Intercourſe of Mankind, which are of ſuch infinite Advantage, can have no Security, where Men pay no regard to their Engagements. It may, in like Manner, be ſaid, that Men could not live at all in Society, at leaſt in a civiliz'd Society, without Laws and Magiſtrates and Judges, to prevent the Encroachments of the ſtrong upon the weak, the violent upon the juſt and equitable. The Obligation to Allegiance, being of like Force and

and Authority with the Obligation to Fidelity, we gain nothing by reſolving the one into the other. The general Intereſts or Neceſſities of Society are ſufficient to eſtabliſh both.

IF the Reaſon is aſkt of that Obedience, which we are bound to pay to Government, I readily anſwer; *becauſe Society cou'd not otherwiſe ſubſiſt:* And this Anſwer is clear and intelligible to all Mankind. Your anſwer is, *becauſe we ſhou'd keep our Word.* But beſides, that no Body, 'till train'd in a philoſophical Syſtem, can either comprehend or reliſh this Anſwer: Beſides this, I ſay, you find yourſelf embarraſs'd, when 'tis aſk'd you, *why we are bound to keep our Word?* And you can give no other Anſwer, but what would, immediately, without any Circuity, have accounted for our Obligation to Allegiance.

BUT *to whom is Allegiance due? And who are our lawful Sovereigns?* This Queſtion is often the moſt difficult of any, and liable to infinite Diſcuſſions. When People are ſo happy, that they can anſwer, *Our preſent Sovereign, who inherits, in a direct Line, from Anceſtors, that have govern'd us for many Ages*; this Anſwer admits of no Reply; even tho' Hiſtorians, in tracing

up to the remoteſt Antiquity the Origin of that royal Family, may find, as commonly happens, that its firſt Authority was deriv'd from Uſurpation and Violence. 'Tis confeſt, that private Juſtice or the Abſtinence from the Properties of others, is a moſt cardinal Virtue: Yet Reaſon tells us, that there is no Property in durable Objects, ſuch as Lands or Houſes, when carefully examin'd in paſſing from Hand to Hand, but muſt, in ſome Period, have been founded on Fraud and Injuſtice. The Neceſſities of human Society, neither in private nor publick Life, will allow of ſuch an accurate Enquiry: And there is no Virtue or moral Duty, but what may, with Facility, be refin'd away, if we indulge a falſe Philoſophy, in ſifting and ſcrutinizing it, every captious Rule of Logic, in every Light or Poſition, wherein it may be plac'd.

THE Queſtions with Regard to private Property have fill'd infinite Volumes of Law and Philoſophy, not to mention the Commentators upon both; and in the End, we may ſafely pronounce, that many of the Rules, there eſtabliſh'd, are uncertain, ambiguous, and arbitrary. The like Opinion may be form'd with regard to the Succeſſions and Rights of Princes and

Forms

Forms of Government. The Diſcuſſion of theſe Matters would lead us entirely beyond the Compaſs of theſe Eſſays. 'Tis ſufficient for our preſent Purpoſe, if we have been able to determine, in general, the Foundation of that Allegiance, which is due to the eſtabliſh'd Government, in every Kingdom and Commonwealth *.

WE ſhall only obſerve, before we conclude, that tho' an Appeal to general Opinion may juſt-

* When there is no legal Prince, who has a Title to a Throne, I believe it may ſafely be determined to belong to the firſt Occupier. This was frequently the Caſe with the *Roman* Empire. When any Race of Princes expires, the Will or Deſtination of the laſt Prince will be regarded as a Title. Thus the Edict of *Louis* the XIVth, who call'd the Baſtard Princes to the Succeſſion, in Caſe of Failure of all the legitimate Princes, would, in ſuch an Event, have ſome Authority. The Ceſſion of the ancient Proprietor, eſpecially when join'd to Conqueſt, is likewiſe eſteem'd a very good Right. The general Bond or Obligation, that binds us to Government, is the Intereſt and Neceſſities of Society; and this Obligation is very ſtrong. The Determination of it to this or that particular Prince or Form of Government is frequently more uncertain and dubious. Preſent Poſſeſſion has conſiderable Authority in theſe Caſes, and greater than in private Property; becauſe of the Diſorders, that attend all Revolutions and Changes of Government.

ly, in the ſpeculative Sciences of Metaphyſics, natural Philoſophy, or Aſtronomy, be eſteem'd unfair and inconcluſive; yet in all Queſtions with regard to Morals, as well as Criticiſm, there is really no other Standard by which any other Controverſy can ever be decided. And nothing can be a clearer Proof, that a Theory of this Kind is erroneous, than to find, that it leads us into Paradoxes, which are repugnant to the common Sentiments of Mankind, and to the Practice and Opinion of all Nations and all Ages. The Doctrine, that founds all lawful Government on an *original Contract*, or Conſent of the People, is plainly of this Kind; nor has the ableſt of its Partizans, in Proſecution of it, ſcrupled to affirm, *that abſolute Monarchy is inconſiſtent with civil Society, and ſo can be no Form of civil Government at all**; and *that the ſupreme Power in a State cannot take from any Man by Taxes and Impoſitions, any Part of his Property without his own Conſent or that of his Repreſentatives*†. What Authority any moral Reaſoning can have, which leads into Opinions, ſo wide of the general Practice of Mankind, in every Place but this ſingle Kingdom, 'tis eaſy to determine.

* See Locke on Government, Chap. 7. §. 90.
† Id. Chap. 11. §. 138, 139, 140.

ESSAY

ESSAY III.

Of PASSIVE OBEDIENCE.

IN the former Eſſay, we have endeavour'd to refute the *ſpeculative* Syſtems of Politics, advanc'd in this Nation; as well the religious Syſtem of the one Party, as the philoſophical of the other. We come now to examine the *practical* Conſequences, deduc'd by each Party, with regard to the Meaſures of Submiſſion, due to Sovereigns.

As the Obligation to Juſtice is founded intirely on the Intereſts of Society, which require mutual Abſtinence from Property, in order to preſerve Peace amongſt Mankind; 'tis evident, that, when the Execution of Juſtice would be attended with very pernicious Conſequences, that Virtue muſt be ſuſpended, and give place to public Utility, in ſuch extraordinary and ſuch preſſing Emergencies. The Maxim, *fiat Juſtitia & ruat Cælum*, let Juſtice be perform'd, tho' the Univerſe be deſtroy'd, is apparently falſe, and by ſa-

ſacrificing the End to the Means, ſhews a prepoſterous Idea of the Subordination of Duties. What Governor of a Town makes any Scruple of burning the Suburbs, when they facilitate the Advances of the Enemy? Or what General abſtains from plundering a neutral Country, when the Neceſſities of War require it, and he cannot otherwiſe maintain his Army? The Caſe is the ſame with the Duty of Obedience to Magiſtrates; and common Senſe teaches us, that as Government obliges to Obedience only on Accouut of its Tendency to public Utility, it muſt always, in extraordinary Caſes, when public Ruin would evidently attend Obedience, yield to the primary and original Obligation. *Salus Populi ſuprema Lex*, the Safety of the People is the ſupreme Law. This Maxim is agreeable to the Sentiments of Mankind in all Ages: Nor is any one, when he reads of the Inſurrections againſt a *Nero*, or a *Caracalla*, ſo infatuated with Party-Syſtems, as not to wiſh Succeſs to the Enterprize, and praiſe the Undertakers. Even our high monarchical Party, in ſpite of their ſublime Theory, are forc'd, in ſuch Caſes, to judge, and think, and approve, in Conformity to the reſt of Mankind.

RESISTANCE, therefore, being admitted in extraordinary Emergencies, the Queſtion can only

only be, amongſt good Reaſoners, with regard to the Degree of Neceſſity, which can juſtify Reſiſtance, and render it lawful or commendable. And here I muſt confeſs, that I ſhall always incline to their Side, who draw the Bond of Allegiance the cloſeſt poſſible, and conſider an Infringement of it, as the laſt Refuge, in deſperate Caſes, when the public is in the higheſt Danger, from a cruel and abandon'd Tyranny. For beſides the Miſchiefs of a civil War, which commonly attend Inſurrection; 'tis certain, that where a Diſpoſition to Rebellion appears amongſt any People, it is one chief Cauſe of Tyranny in the Rulers, and forces them into many violent Meaſures, which they never would have embrac'd, if every one had ſeem'd inclin'd to Submiſſion and Obedience. 'Tis thus the *Tyrannicide* or Aſſaſſination, approv'd of by ancient Maxims, inſtead of keeping Tyrants and Uſurpers in Awe, made them ten times more fierce and unrelenting; and is now juſtly, upon that Account, aboliſh'd by the Laws of Nations, and univerſally condemn'd as a baſe and treacherous Method of bringing to Juſtice theſe Diſturbers of Society.

BESIDES; we muſt conſider, that as Obedience is our Duty in the common Courſe of Things, it ought chiefly to be inculcated; nor can any thing

thing be more prepoſterous than an anxious Care and Sollicitude in ſtating all the Caſes, wherein Reſiſtance may be allow'd. Thus, tho' a Philoſopher reaſonably acknowledges, in the Courſe of an Argument, that the Rules of Juſtice may be diſpenſed with in Caſes of urgent Neceſſity; what ſhould we think of a Preacher or Caſuiſt, who ſhould make it his chief Study to find out ſuch Caſes, and enforce them with all the Vehemence of Argument and Eloquence? Would he not be better employ'd in preaching up the general Doctrine, than in diſplaying the particular Exceptions, which we are, perhaps, but too much inclin'd, of ourſelves, to embrace, and to extend?

THERE are, however, two Reaſons, which may be pleaded in Defence of that Party amongſt us, who have, with ſo much Induſtry, propagated the Maxims of Reſiſtance; Maxims, which, it muſt be confeſt, are, in general, ſo pernicious, and ſo deſtructive of all civil Society. The *firſt* is, that their Antagoniſts carrying the Doctrine of Obedience to ſuch an extravagant Height, as not only never to mention the Exception in extraordinary Caſes (which might, perhaps, be excuſable) but even poſitively to exclude it; it became neceſſary to inſiſt on theſe Exceptions, and defend the Rights of injur'd Truth and Liberty.

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The *ſecond*, and, perhaps, better Reaſon, is founded on the Nature of the *Britiſh* Conſtitution and Form of Government.

'TIS almoſt peculiar to our Conſtitution to eſtabliſh a firſt Magiſtrate with ſuch high Pre-eminence and Dignity, that, tho' limited by the Laws, he is, in a Manner, as far as regards his own Perſon, above the Laws, and can neither be queſtioned nor puniſhed for any Injury or Wrong, which may be committed by him. His Miniſters alone, or thoſe who act by his Commiſſion, are obnoxious to Juſtice; and while the Prince is thus allur'd, by the Proſpect of perſonal Safety, to give the Laws their free Courſe, an equal Security is, in effect, obtain'd, by the Puniſhment of the leſſer Offenders, and at the ſame Time a civil War is avoided, which would be the infallible Conſequence, were an Attack, at every Turn, made directly upon the Sovereign. But tho' the Conſtitution pays this ſalutary Compliment to the Prince, it can never reaſonably be underſtood, by that Maxim, to have determin'd its own Deſtruction, or to have eſtabliſh'd a tame Submiſſion, where he protects his Miniſters, perſeveres in his Injuſtice, and uſurps the whole Power of the Commonwealth. This Caſe, indeed, is never expreſsly put by the Laws; becauſe it is impoſſible for them, in their ordinary Courſe, to

pro-

provide a Remedy for it, or eſtabliſh any Magiſtrate, with ſuperior Authority, to chaſtiſe the exorbitancies of the Prince. But as a Right without a Remedy would be the greateſt of all Abſurdities; the Remedy, in this Caſe, is the extraordinary one of Reſiſtance, when Affairs come to that Extremity, that the Conſtitution can alone be defended by it. Reſiſtance, therefore, muſt, of courſe, become more frequent in the *Britiſh* Government, than in others, which are ſimpler, and conſiſt of fewer Parts and Movements. Where the King is the ſole Sovereign of the State, he has little Temptation to commit ſuch enormous Tyranny as may juſtly provoke Rebellion: But where he is limited, his imprudent Ambition, without any great Vices, may run him into that perillous Situation. This was evidently the Caſe with *Charles* the Firſt; and if we may now ſpeak Truth, after Animoſities are laid, this was alſo the Caſe with *James* the Second. Theſe were harmleſs, if not, in their private Character, good Men; but miſtaking the Nature of our Conſtitution, and engroſſing the whole legiſlative Power, it became neceſſary to oppoſe them with ſome Vehemence; and even to deprive the latter formally of that Authority, which he had uſed with ſuch Imprudence and Indiſcretion

FINIS.

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